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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 [772] [766] Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

● [773] [778] Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[3] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[3]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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person's mother. Still another type was called the *i'i*. This, it is said, was a form of tribute paid when there was a feast in honor of a chiefess. When a *ko'ina i'i* was announced, people of the home valley and many from neighboring friendly settlements would come prepared to sing *i'i* in honor of the chiefess; and all would bring, as appropriate gifts to accompany their songs, offerings of flowers. According to legend, the first *i'i* was taught to a young man who was desirous of attending a festival in honor of a chiefess by two birds, who were in reality "wild women" (*vehine hae*) of the mountains. The youth, who was handsome as heroes of legends seem usually to be, charmed not only the chiefess but all the other ladies at the feast, so that they were all filled with a passionate desire for him.

Of the strictly religious chants there were many kinds. Before describing these it will be well, without dwelling too long on this subject—which would in itself require a whole book for thorough explanation and illustration— to bring out certain of the most important points with regard to the place of chanting in the native religion. The Marquesans, like all Polynesians, chanted their prayer-spells because they believed in the efficacy or dynamic effect of rhythmic intonation; they considered such intonation to be an essential feature of all religious recitations. The singing of the choral religious chants is nothing more than intonation by large groups with prescribed rhythm and melody of causative dynamic spells. These chants may be compared to the liturgies of the Christian and the Thibetan Buddhist churches. The Marquesans believed that the gods who animated and vivified all nature, including man and all other living beings and things—in fact, nature as a whole, made up of gods and spirits, and earth-dwelling beings and things—were affected directly by these causative recitations.

The *pu'e* chant describes the growth (*pu'e*, to grow) of the world from its beginnings. It was intoned to consecrate children and such things as new houses and new canoes. The idea in the native mind apparently was that the dynamic recitation, along with the repetition of many meaningless "words with power," of the stages of the world's growth served to make the new thing one with all nature and thus to consecrate it, psychically binding it firmly to all growing, living nature. The *pu'e* was strictly tapu, and was never intoned except by priests and the old men who constituted the choirs in the great ceremonies. But there was another creation chant, called the *vavana* (which probably means "sacred knowledge") which, though tapu, was learned and sung by women as well as by men. (Women as a class were not tapu as were men.) This, like the *pu'e*, was intoned in a slow tempo accompanied by clapping of the

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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X533 191 the Marquesan. This must not be taken as an indication that this *nani* is not a genuinely Marquesan chant. Practically all Marquesans today know how to speak Tahitian, and it is their habit in singing these recreational songs to insert Tahitian words in places where they produce a more graceful effect than the harder and more staccato Marquesan equivalents. It is only in their singing that the natives do this; in conversation among themselves they prefer their own language.

X533 773 The Nani o Kae may be accepted as a genuine ancient Marquesan song since the poetry is based on themes from one of the old legends of Hivaoa, the story of Kae. Hina, the chiefess of Puamau valley, the ancient name of which was Vai Noi, summoned her brother-in-law, who was a great whale, to take Kae to Taaoa. Kae was instructed to kick a certain rocky islet as he passed. This act was in some mysterious way to cause the whale to turn about so that its tail instead of its head would come upon the beach at Taaoa. Kae failed to kick the islet; and, in consequence, the whale came up on the beach head-first, whereupon the people of the valley attacked and killed it.

TAPE'A

X533 The *tape'a* was a companion piece of the *nani*. Three or four *nani* would be sung, and then the *tape'a*, after which the singers would rest. Only the women actually sang the words, the men accompanying them with body and arm motions as in the *nani*, but singing louder and with more spirit. While the women sang, the men accompanied, their part being referred to as *haakoakoa*, which may be translated as "warming up." In rhythm with the singing, the group of men sometimes ejaculated forcibly, "Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!" accompanying these expulsions of breath with vigorous motions of the arms up and down like those made in hauling on a rope; at other times, with tremendous vigor, they ejaculated "Ugh-huh-ugh! Ugh-huh-ugh!" twice, swinging the upper body first to one side, then to the other; then, throwing the right arm forward from the shoulder and striking it at the elbow, they ejaculated with great force "Mahu-mahu," a word which has an erotic meaning. Done by only a small group of about eight men, this male accompaniment was remarkably powerful and rousing. It needs little imagination to conceive the dynamic power of such a performance by a large group of virile natives. (See melodic figure 3.)

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

194 *eÝo, eÝu, iÝa, iÝe, iÝo, iÝu*: in other words, when any other vowel except *i* follows *e* and bears the stress; or when any other vowel follows *i* and bears the stress. A *w* occurs in *ówa, ówe, owí, úwa, uwá, úwe, Uwé, úwi, uwí, uwó*: in other words, with *o* bearing stress before *a* and *e*, and with *o* before *i* when the latter is stressed; and with *u* stressed or unstressed with all other vowels. *ŏ* stressed, followed by *i* forms *ŏy*. A *W* occurs in *oWó, oWé, óWi, úWo*.

To sum up: When *a* is stressed, it forms a near-dipthong with all other vowels by predominating and making of the second vowel a mere shading of sound; *e* stressed does the same thing with *i*. *E* stressed with all vowels except *i*, and *i* stressed with all vowels except another *i* modify the following vowel with a distinct *y* sound. When the second vowel is stressed, its modification by the preceding *e* is much less noticeable, as indicated by the *Y*. *O* and *u* stressed and unstressed, which modify the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* with a *w* or *W* sound; and *u* similarly modifies a following *o*. In this inclusion of a *w* sound, however, the extent of modification does not seem to follow in the orderly fashion of the *e*'s and *i*'s the stressing of the first or second vowel.

LEGEND OF MAHUIKE RECORDED PHONETICALLY

539 773 The short legend of Mahuike was recited at Atuona, Hivaoa, by Haapuani, who was born in that valley. It was recorded phonetically, exactly as heard, using the conventions described above. A free translation of this legend and the phonetic record are as follows:

Fire in the Marquesas originally came from Mahuike. It is said that formerly there was no fire here, Mahuike having it all. Maui was the great-grandson of Mahuike. In those times the people became disgusted with eating things raw. A rumor spread among them that the food that Mahuike ate in his country was very fine in comparison with what was eaten raw here. How different it was with the chief Mahuike! There was a wise man (*tuhuna*) here who bethought him of the native stories that were told of the delicious food that Mahuike enjoyed. The wise man conceived an idea. The story had it that Mahuike's food was particularly good. Some one asked in what way it was better. "We have breadfruit, banana, breadfruit-paste just like what they have." "This is the difference," said the wise man, "Mahuike's food is prepared with fire." Then the people said to Maui, "What a fine thing it would be if you would go to your great-grandfather Mahuike and get fire for us." Maui was told what to say:

O Mahuike!
Give me some fire. (Chanted).

When Maui approached his great-grandfather with these words, the old man asked, "Who told you Mahuike had fire?" "Why," said Maui. "A report came to us that your food was good, and not indigestible like ours, because you had fire". Mahuike said, "Give me your fire-lighter so that I may give you some fire". "Here it is," said Maui, and unwrapped it from the tail of his loin cloth. Mahuike ignited it from the sole of his foot and gave it back to Maui, saying, "There is some fire for you, my great-grandson". Maui set off along the road. He rubbed the end of the fire-lighter on the ground and put out the fire, then returned to Mahuike, approaching him with the same words as before. The old man demanded, "What put out your fire?" Maui

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told him that as he was passing along the road he had looked at the fire-lighter and found that the fire was out. So Mahuike gave Maui fire from his knee. (The same episode is repeated, Maui departing, putting out the fire, and returning. When he received fire from Mahuike's chest, he was told that there was no more). After Maui had put out the fire that had been given by Mahuike from his chest, he returned. Mahuike was asleep but his gods warned him that his head was in danger. Maui demanded fire from his great-grandfather's head. Mahuike refused, saying that the head was tapu. Maui threatened the old man, but he still refused. There were hot words, then they came together in a clinch. Back and forth they struggled, striving with might and main to overthrow each other, until at last Mahuike exclaimed, "Your strength is like that of a madman, my grandson!" They came together again and again; they fought and fought. Maui's gods said to him, "Do not give in, lest you fail to get the fire." Then Mahuike's strength suddenly gave way, and his head struck upon a rock with such force that the fire flew in all directions from it, entering all the trees and all the rocks. When Maui returned to his people, they demanded, "Where is the fire?" "It is scattered all over the land," replied Maui, and then explained to them how they could get it from the wood of trees by rubbing two pieces together. He demonstrated it to them, bringing the spark from the fire-sticks by long rubbing, and putting the spark in dry tinder—"then did grow the flame of the fire."

mahUwi'kĕ

(Note: Accented syllables are pronounced with a slight rising inflexion.)

na mahUwikĕ te túmu o te áhi i te fĕnūwa enāta.
From Mahuike the origin of the fire in the land native.

u pe'a'U hō'i te pō'i kaki'yu, á'ō'ĕ he(y)áhi mamā'wa átu,
Did say indeed the people anciently not the fire before away,

o mahUwikĕ. oCHi'ya i pe'áU te nēI ha'akehéI,
of Mahuike. When did say the here legend,

o maúwi he pi'ka no mahUwikĕ, he táma na te mo'upúna o
is Maui the great-grandson of Mahuiki, the child of the grandchild of

mahUwikĕ. oWhi'ya i húwa móU po Uwa kū' húwa mato-
Mahuike. When in those some days was disgusted those peo-

élrāna i te hálti'na i te meYa ti'e. Uwa pa te' óno
ple with the eating at the things raw. Did hear the rumor

iyo húwa mataélnano, a hi'iyā'nĕ tĕ a háI iyo mahUwi'kĕ,
among these people was good the there food at Mahuike,

he háI nó'ĕ nó'ĕ óko, nó te mĕYa i háI ti'i'ya ta tatóU
the food nice very. Because of the thing did eat raw that of us

nēI, no élʼa i piYáU ta tatóU nēI. a'iya owi'ya e meYa
here, because of that is bad of us here. It is this it is that is thing

he ti'tahi iyo húwa haka'iki, o mahUwi'kĕ. iyo húwa pō'i
different another at this chief, is Mahuike. Among the people

tiáhi enāta tuhúna. ua vívo i'ya no tĕ a táU pona tĕkáU
another man wise. Did think he of the that [sign of plural] words

a te mataélnano i pe'áU nēI no te háI nó'ĕ nó'ĕ iyo
of the people did speak here of the food nice at

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ô'ô'ī ôtu he ôhi i tówē. o tôha! Uwa tôha maúwi mē te
Not away the fire enough. Go!" Did go Maui with the

hā'ta. Uwa vívo maúwi, e tôhi ôhi i tówē ôtu, o te ôhi
laugh. Did think Maui, one fire more, is the fire

i te ôho o mahUwikē. i te a'anáwi u tinál i kéwa i no
at the head of Mahuike. On the road did extinguish to this to on

he ípo. te hī'a tī'na o to iya nánu u kúwa hakaúwa
the dirt. The put-out having been of his lighter did come again

iyo mahUwikē. a kánu ôtu e ona, u pa'anáiya i te hiyomō'uw
to Mahuike. Was searching, was fallen asleep to the sleep

mahUwikē. [Maui calls as above.] *o tahi a kâhuwa te tôu*
Mahuike. Then did begin to chant the

atúwa o mahUwikē.
gods of Mahuike.

o te ahi mēl heya?
Is the fire from where?

o te ahi mēl te ôho.
Is the fire from the head.

o te oho o mahUwikē.
Is the head of Mahuike.

e ahi tapu te iya
Is fire sacred the that

o te upoko o mahUwikē
Is the head of Mahuike.

i ha towē i.
— — — —

te ono tima o mahUwikē u kakúwa hakaúwa maúwi i te
The heard having of Mahuike did to sing begin again Maui to the

ôhi mēl úna o toWiya ôho. Uwa mahUwikē me te pī'kē, mē
fire from on of his head. Did rise Mahuike with the anger, with

te hā'a hā'a, me te vēvē'i. u pa'ôU mahUwikē, eYaha to
the rage, with the choler. Did say Mahuike, "Is what of

owē hiyo, e tú u pī'ka? u tu'u atú na e yáU n'ôhi páOtu
you want, oh of me great-grandson? Did give away there to be me the fire all

o te ôhi. Chéya ta owē e imi nēl e tu u pī'ka? o te
of the fire. Where of you is seek here, oh of me great-grandson? Is the

ôhi i tówē nēl o tú u póko te iya, ô'ô'ī
fire remaining here of me head that, not

e ĩ'o iya ō'wē tu u ôhi. iya hina ō'we. ô'ô'ī
is come to you of me fire. Then fall you. Not,

e ĩ'o tu u ahi, a tahi a fēfál mahUwikē me maúwi. u mál
is come of me fire." Then did combat Mahuike with Maui. Did come

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fɛ́fáI, u máI, u máI fɛ́fáI. a táhi a hína mahUwikɛ́
combat, did come combat, did come combat. Then did fall Mahuike

i a'e. u pɛ'áU mahUwikɛ́, túta tɛ́ i'i, e tu u pɛ'ha.
to down. Did say Mahuike," Mad your strength oh of me great-grandson."

Uwa tú'u maúwi. u ha'a tópa mahUwikɛ́ i to Wiya
Did take Maui. Did cause to fall Mahuike to his

áO. Uwa tópa te áO o mahUwikɛ́. u fɛ́fáI hakaúwa aúnù. me húwa
face. Did fall the face of Mahuike. Did combat again these two. With this

hána, u máI fɛ́fáI fɛ́fáI. a táhi a pɛ'áU te táU atúwa iya
work, did come fight fight. Then did say the gods to

maúwi, umá'i owɛ́ e tú'u úwa te ko'úna te áhi iya úwɛ́.
Maui, "Do not you give up lest the get the fire to you."

a táhi a ha'a páO te i'i o mahUikɛ́. Uwa tú i te upóko
Then did cause end to the strength of Mahuike. Did strike on the head

o mahUwikɛ́ i úna o te kɛ'a. u hi'i tavava te úpoko o
of Mahuike to on of the rock. Did break-to-pieces the head of

mahUwikɛ́. a táhi a hiki te áhi máI oto máI o húwa úpoko
Mahuike. Then did go up the fire from in here of this head

o mahUwike. uwa f'ɛ́ titahi áhi i oto o te táU ahúU,
of Mahuike. Did go another fire to in of the trees,

uwa f'ɛ́ titáhi i óto o te kɛ'a. PáOtu te táU áhi a
did go another to in of the rocks. All the fires of

mahUwikɛ́ i te tavava ma te táU fenú'wa. a táhi a
Mahuike to the breaking among the lands. Then did

pɛ'áU te atúwa iya maúwi, kɛ́Yu óko úwɛ́ i tihɛ́ náI
say the gods to Maui, "Play strong you to arrive here

i te áhi imi a mahUwikɛ́. a táhi a húwa maúwi iyo to(w)iya
to the fire seek of Mahuike." Then did come Maui to his

huwá'a. u pɛ'áU huwa tuhú'na, I'cheya to úwɛ́ áhi? úna te
relatives. Did say this wise man, "Where your fire?" "There the

táU (W)áhi a mahUwikɛ́ u tavava ma na fenúwa páOtu.
fires of Mahuike did break over the lands all."

a táhi a pɛ'aU maúwi i toWiya huwá'a, a tó'o te
Then did say Maui to his relatives, "Take the

ahúU, a fɛ́fáti ma vavéna, a ha'a mówɛ́ te hópɛ́ owa i úna
wood, break in the middle, lay flat the half long to on

o te épo. o te hópɛ́ póto no te i'ima. a áhi titáhi ahúU
of the ground. Is the half short for the hands. Rub one wood

ma úna o titahi. u pɛ'áU te táU huw'a'a, a táhi a
on of the other." Did say the relatives, "Then

pɛ́hɛ́'ya? pɛ'áU maúwi. a táhi a ko'úna te áhi. o te oiVa
how?" Said Maui, "Then get the fire." Of the long-

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539 773 ***tína o te áhi, a táhi a ho'óna tá táttóU páE áhi. Uuu***
neau of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

áhi héana pó'i. te ouu tína o te áhi uuu á'a te áhi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te hóU náti. u mahá'o héuu mataálnana o uuu'ui.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Mani.

u pe'áU huuu tuhéna, ouiya náI te ápáU i ná'ī ná'ī
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

áI te á'a a mahUuiihī. a táhi a ha'a páI páI átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te áhi i úna o héuu hóU náti, uuu tú'u mī te heIkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

má'o, a táhi a hí'i te á'a o te áhi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with *"ka'o-o-o-oha, nú-u-uui-y-é-e-e-e-e* (*ka'oha nui e*)" with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

173
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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

The hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootoa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their sprouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is [773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur- [564]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

Folklore and Legends

From Handy's[1] volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi*, who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

[1] E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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basket of eels, which the mother puts in her back, and she dies. Before dying she tells the children to plant a seed on her back. Since they fear her ghost, they bury her in the ground, and a fruit tree grows. The girl wants the seed. They eat the fruit and fell the tree, and the mother comes to life again. Then the mother pursues the children, and threatens to kill and eat them. They flee from her to an island which the mother cannot climb. There they have no food, but they plant the seed that came out of the mother. It grows and they eat the fruit. The mother succeeds in getting on the island, and finally wants to climb up on the girl's hair. She does so, and when the brother cuts her hair, the mother falls and dies. The children now feel safe. They take the corpse of the mother and bake it. There is no mention of their eating it. One brother is a glutton, and eats not only food but utensils. He meets his death by eating forbidden cocoanuts belonging to a chief. The girl is wooed by two chiefs, one of whom kills the other.

Another story deals with a handsome married man who is carried away by the *vehini-hai*. The wife sets out in pursuit, but cannot catch up with him, and dies. The three wild women suggest eating the youth. One of them suggests that there is nothing to gain from eating him. The good ogress cautions the bad, and the latter is transformed with beauty. The woman ceases to be a man-eater, and the captured youth stays with them.

Another story deals with father-daughter incest. A man is married to a woman, but when she is three months pregnant, he deserts his wife for a new woman. The first woman has a daughter, who grows up to be very beautiful. The father of the girl hears of her beauty, and among others seeks her favors, not knowing it is his daughter. He comes while the mother and her brothers are away looking for food during a famine. He takes the girl. The mother returns and the girl tells of her adventure. The mother recognizes the man as the girl's father. The woman reproaches first the daughter, and then the father, and then presents them to each other, i.e., father and daughter.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.[3] They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[832] [3] White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

[End of processed section]

/108 cont./ aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women. 182 838

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present). 178 835 [582] [604] [606]

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency. 178 835 605 [161]

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play. 839 [538] [773]